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# A Buildup in U.S. Forces

## *Reagan Advisers Urge More for Defense*

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If you take them at their word, Ronald Reagan and his key military advisers would launch the United States on the biggest arms buildup since the dawn of the missile age two decades ago.

"Out" would be SALT II or any arms control agreement like it.

"In" would be fresh billions for quick fixes in the U.S. nuclear arsenal, including immediately digging more holes for missiles.

"Out" would be "essential equivalence," the current way of saying that the United States need not equal the Soviet Union in all kinds of weapons.

"In" would be "true equality" or "superiority."

There is no mystery about all this. Reagan, the Republicans' presidential candidate, has said as much. But the import of what he has said takes on crucial significance now that he is one of the two men most likely to become president of the United States in January.

The same goes for the views of his key military advisers, who will shape what Reagan says and does in the field of national security.

Reagan, in a judgment that would become the engine for stepping up the arms race if he became president, said on March 17 that "in military strength we are already second to one: namely, the Soviet Union.

"And that," he told the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, "is a very dangerous position in which to be.

"Soviet investments in strategic arms are continuing at a rate nearly three times as large as ours, and their investment in conventional arms will be nearly twice as large.

"Once we clearly demonstrate to the Soviet leadership that we are determined to compete, arms control negotiations will again have a chance," Reagan said.

"The SALT II treaty should be withdrawn," Reagan declared in a written reply to questions submitted by the Arms Control Association. "And I especially believe that the U.S. should not abide by its terms prior to ratification."

In other words, the United States is behind the Soviet Union and must go all out to catch up before trying to bring the arms race under control.

"The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan indicates that the Soviet Union does not share American expectations for a future in which the role of military power is diminished; we must therefore be prepared to take arms procurement measures best suited to U.S. national security interests," Reagan told the association.

Only if the Soviets behave better in the future, said Reagan, should the United States try to negotiate an arms control agreement "which legitimately reduces nuclear weapons on both sides to the point where neither country represents a threat to the other."

Most of Reagan's 32 other military advisers have views similar to those of Rowny and Van Cleave. Here is who they are:

● Frank Barnett, 58, New York City, president, National Strategy Information Center, a tax-exempt organization that states its leaders believe "neither isolationism nor pacifism provides realistic solutions to the challenge of 20th century totalitarianism."

Barnett wrote in a preface to the center's book, "Strategic Options for the Early Eighties: What Can Be Done?" that "If Washington continues to delay or scrap new American weapons, 1984 may clarify for the allied remnants that the United States itself could be Finlandized into impotence while Moscow completed its annexation of the oil of the Persian Gulf and mineral storehouse of Africa."

● Air Force Gen. David A. Burchinal, 65, of Doylestown, Pa., former deputy commander of U.S. forces in Europe, who retired in 1973.

● Joseph Churba, of Arlington, president of the Center for International Security and former Air Force intelligence analyst, contends that Carter administration Mideast policy, especially the peace accords between Egypt and Israel, is ill-conceived. He contends Carter is tilting toward the Arabs at the expense of Israel.

Churba wrote of the Mideast peace treaty in the Journal "Comparative Strategy" earlier this year: "The miscalculations were manifold. In the wake of the new peace treaty, Syria and Iraq moved toward rapprochement and unity; the Palestine Liberation Organization agreed to cooperate and Saudi Arabia aligned itself with the radical rejectionists. . . ."

● Jacquelyn K. Davis, 29, of Stanford, Pa., at the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, a Cambridge, Mass., research organization. She was one of the authors of an institute report that concluded: "The inherent deficiency of the SALT II treaty is its inability to achieve the most important objective of arms control: strategic stability. . . . The principal option available to the United States is to press a vigorous research and development program and to deploy weapon systems needed to offset a growing imbalance of strategic military forces. . . ."

● Retired Army Lt. Gen. John Davis, 71 of Arlington, assistant director of the National Security Agency.

● Retired Air Force Gen. Russell E. Dougherty, 59, of Arlington, former head of the Strategic Air Command. He endorsed the SALT II treaty last year as a "modest and useful step" providing the United States modernizes its arsenal. A fellow officer said Dougherty is far less hawkish than most of his colleagues on the Reagan advisory panel.

Dougherty has warned that the Soviets are developing and deploying nuclear weapons for fighting, not just deterring. He told the Senate Armed Services Committee last year that the United States must do likewise.

"I find it unthinkable," Dougherty said, "even immoral, that we would tolerate the basing of our deterrent strategy and our basic security interest solely on a retaliatory concept of mutually assured destruction and solely on a strategic arsenal with no war fighting capability."

● Stephen P. Gibert, 55, of McLean, director of Georgetown University's National Security Studies Program at the graduate school. In a book, "United States' National Security in the Decade Ahead," he wrote that to buttress the Egypt-Israel peace treaty the United States might have to reassure Israel through the "semipermanent stationing of American troops in Israel."

director of University of Miami's Advanced International Studies Institute, and who has been warning for years that the Soviets are building an extensive civil defense program in hopes of winning any nuclear war. His reports on Soviet progress have prompted some members of Congress to call for an expanded U.S. civil defense effort.

● Retired Lt. Gen. Daniel O. Graham, 55, of Arlington, former director of the Defense Intelligence Agency and cochairman of the Coalition for Peace Through Strength.

"The most effective response to the current strategic imbalance," Graham told the Senate Appropriations subcommittee May 7, "is in a technological end run rather than in an attempt to match mass with mass. The most promising area for such a technological leapfrog of the Soviets is in a combination of superior U.S. space technology and antiballistic missile defense technology."

● William R. Graham, 43, of Marina Del Ray, Calif., a physicist and Defense Department consultant. He recently coauthored with Paul H. Nitze, SALT II critic, an article concluding that U.S. missiles could be upgraded and deployed in more survivable modes to improve the nation's nuclear offense.

● Walter F. Hahn, 53, of Cambridge, Mass., a former deputy director of a division within the Institute for Defense Analysis, a Pentagon think tank, who currently is at the Foreign Policy Research Institute; University of Pennsylvania.

● Roland Herbts, 53, of Marina Del Rey, Calif., former Pentagon research executive; currently at R & D Associates.

● Martin R. Hoffman, 48, of McLean, general counsel of the Defense Department in 1974 and secretary of the army 1975 to 1977.

● Peter C. Hughes, 34, of Seattle, Boeing Aerospace Co. executive specializing in international plans and operations. Hughes has said that arms control agreements have failed to bring military stability.

● Chalmers Johnson, 48, of Berkeley, Calif., chairman of the political science department at the University of California. Johnson favors bolstering the U.S. 7th Fleet in the Western Pacific to reassure China and Japan.

● William R. Kintner, 65, of Philadelphia, a political science professor at the University of Pennsylvania and former ambassador to Thailand. He championed former president Nixon's decision to deploy the Safeguard ABM defense. Kintner expressed his pro-ABM philosophy in 1969, writing: "An effective ballistic missile defense would enable the United States and the Soviet Union to engage in more meaningful arms control negotiations" because the chances of suffering a devastating attack would be reduced.

● Lawrence J. Korb, 40, of Newport, R.I., a professor of management at the U.S. Naval War College, who favors putting the Minuteman missile back into production, accelerating construction of the Trident missile submarine, building 200 B1 bombers and beefing up antibomber defenses while pursuing "vigorous" development of an advanced ABM. He is slated to become director of defense studies at the American Enterprise Institute here.

● Charles M. Kupperman, 29, of Washington, defense analyst at the Committee on the Present Danger. He contends that "the Soviet Union is dedicated to the strategy of firing the first salvo, thereby linking counterforce and damage limitation" in nuclear war.

● John F. Lehman Jr., 37, of McLean, president of the Abington Corp. and former deputy director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

● J. William Middendorf II 55, of McLean, president of Financial General Bankshares and secretary of the Navy from 1974 to 1977, who championed a bigger Navy when serving as its secretary and since. He has stated: "I see the biggest problem as too few ships to meet the threat."

● Retired Adm. Thomas H. Moorer, 68, of McLean, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff from 1970 to 1974. "I unequivocally oppose SALT II as now presented," he told the Senate Armed Services Committee last year. He said at another point that "the United States has no air defense worthy of the name. . . . It is mandatory that the United States move forward with a major and accelerated buildup of our defense capabilities, both strategic and conventional. . . ."

● Patrick J. Parker, 49, of Monterey, Calif., chairman of the National Security Affairs department at the Navy's graduate school. He was one of three authors of an article in the "Journal of International Relations," summer, 1977, which said: "At the very least, SALT has served to cement and prolong a passive U.S. attitude toward defense needs, particularly defense needs. . . . Continued self-restraint, reliance on assured destruction and blind denial of the profound political consequences of strategic imbalances makes no sense whatsoever."

● Michael R. Pillsbury, 35, of Annapolis, a specialist in Sino-Soviet military affairs, who worked at Rand Corp.; Senate Appropriations Committee consultant. In the fall 1975 issue of "Foreign Policy" magazine he made a case for entering into a U.S.-Chinese military relationship, contending it would cement relations between the two countries, help deter the Soviets from attacking China and draw off some Soviet forces pitted against the West on the NATO front.

Carter since has adopted some ideas expressed in Pillsbury's article, including approving export licenses to American firms for the sale of what the author called "passive military systems," such

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as trucks, warning radar and the use of U.S. civilian satellites.

• Jeffrey Record, 36, of Silver Spring, formerly a Brookings Institution defense specialist and aide to Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.); now senior fellow at the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis. Record has written pieces critical of Carter's Rapid Deployment Force, contending it is not very deployable, partly because of the mismatch between transport aircraft and armor.

• William R. Schneider, 38, of Rockville Center, N.Y., a defense specialist at the Hudson Institute; coeditor of a book "Why ABM?" In an article in the book, "United States National Security in the Decade Ahead," Schneider called for a 10 percent increase in the Pentagon budget, after allowing for inflation, every year through fiscal 1983 and 3 percent a year after that.

• Harriet Fast Scott, 60, of McLean, a Soviet specialist and the wife of Air Force Col. William F. Scott.

• William F. Scott, 60, of McLean, U.S. air attache in Moscow from 1962 to 1964 and 1970-1972.

"Control of Western access to raw materials is no doubt a major objective of Soviet strategy and the U.S.S.R.'s perceived need for an ability to project military force," Scott wrote in the March 1977 issue of Air Force Magazine.

• Air Force Lt. Gen. Thomas P. Stafford, 48, of Oklahoma City, former astronaut who retired last year as Air Force deputy chief of staff in charge of research, development and acquisition. He has warned of the Soviets' broad-based military research programs and he could supply expertise for Reagan's speeches in this area.

• Retired Air Force Gen. John W. Vogt Jr., 60, of Annapolis, a former commander of U.S. Air Forces in Europe and of the 7th Air Force, which fought in Vietnam.

• Retired Marine Gen. Lewis Walt, 67, of Orlando, Fla., assistant commandant of the Marine Corps, who retired in 1971. He commanded Marines in the northern part of Vietnam during the war from 1965 to 1967. He complained about civilian restrictions placed on American military power during that war, lambasted the press for negative reporting and said the United States could have won the war.

• Army Gen. Vernon R. Walters, 63, of Arlington, deputy director of the Central Intelligence Agency, 1972 to 1976.

• Seymour Weiss, 55, of Bethesda, vice president of the Abington Corp. and director of the State Department's Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs in 1973; ambassador to the Bahamas in 1974. He termed Carter's attempt to curb arms sales abroad by restricting U.S. transactions a bankrupt policy.

"We must get it fixed in our strategic consciousness that the Soviets believe that the goal of superior military power is paramount and must be sought to the extent the U.S. allows," Weiss wrote in the fall 1977 "Journal of International Relations."

*Staff researcher Valerie Thomas contributed to this report.*

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